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No camouflage can serve him now. The Prime Minister thus stands on the threshold of the sternest moral test of his career.

But much more is it vital that the Prime Minister shall so speak as to lift the issue above all factions and persons, in a manner which shall go far at the outset to strengthen the confidence of the country and the world in the Prime Minister's moral thoroughness about the task in hand and in his determination to stake everything on this issue.

It is so plain that Lloyd-George will be less than lucky if in Monday's debate he does not make one of the very big speeches of his life and cover his incompatible opponents with confusion. First of all, Genoa is no mere gateway to possibilities. It is in itself a great fact, an honor to Italy and a shining promise to mankind. Why? Because in its array of representatives of some twenty-six countries it is the first grand council of civilization that has been brought together since Armageddon. It is such an assembly of nations as the utterly incomplete League of Nations ought to have been from the first and has never been.

If the foundations are well and truly laid by a sufficient agreement among the European countries, it is absolutely certain that America will come in at last to put on the roof, earning the greater glory by coming in at last, though late, to save peace for the world, as she came in at last, though late, to save the war for the Allies.

THE WAY OF THE NEW AMBASSADOR TO GERMANY

Simple and understandable methods are to be used by the lately appointed Ambassador to Germany, former Representative Alanson B. Houghton, in seeking to restore happy relations between the United States and Germany.

With the approval of President Harding, which might have been suspected, even if the official information to that effect had been lacking, Mr. Houghton declared just before sailing for Europe that he purposed not to talk about responsibility and guilt for the war. His idea is to forget that and to concentrate upon the future.

His theory as to his official course in Berlin was enunciated in a speech at the Metropolitan Club, New York City, on the night of March 31. It was approved by a large number of prominent men of various walks in life who were in attendance, and it was in line with sentiments expressed by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, who introduced the new ambassador.

Unfortunately, dispatches from Berlin indicate that some of the newspapers in Germany hardly met the speech in the generous spirit in which it was made, manifesting rather a spirit of triumph. But that disposition is not likely to cool the ardor of Ambassador Houghton for understanding and good will or weaken his purpose.

MR. HOUGHTON'S SPEECH

The salient parts of Mr. Houghton's speech follow:

I confess that only recently have I understood, not so much the power, as the persistency of propaganda, once it is well started, and if the same kind of stories about the American people are current in Germany as are still told in the United States about the German people, I shall find a certain comfort in a casual remark addressed by one of the German women in Washington last week to my wife—somewhat to her consternation—that our present embassy building in Berlin is "admirably adapted for purposes of defense."

First and foremost, I do not believe in the moral or spir-

itual, or even the economic, value of hate. Hate serves no useful purpose. It is far more dangerous to those who hate than to those who are hated. It leads only to confusion and destruction.

As I leave this country, I have in mind far more the hundred and odd years of peace and friendship and abundant good will which bound the German and American peoples together than the few years of war and misunderstanding which have separated them. I want to renew and strengthen again those ancient ties of respect and mutual service. Why, gentlemen, we cannot ourselves be happy and contented as a nation so long as our own fellow-citizens of German ancestry are unhappy and embittered by a sense of injustice. Surely, a better understanding must be sought by us all in Grant's immortal phrase, "Let us have peace."

Would Bury War Hatchet

Moreover, I know no reason why we should expect a great and proud nation to do something which under similar circumstances we ourselves would not do. The war is ended. The loser, to its ability, must foot the bill. But its causes, the apportionment of blame or guilt, are matters which, frankly, I, for one, will no longer discuss.

Nearly sixty years have passed away and the grandchildren of those who wore the Blue or the Gray cannot now discuss certain aspects of that great struggle without bitterness and a sense of outrage. Neither side ever has and neither side ever will acknowledge moral guilt. And, fortunately, no such acknowledgment was necessary. Both North and South found the way out of the dilemma when they simply turned their backs upon the causes of the issue which had divided them and went to work.

The parallel is not exact; but, frankly, it does seem to me that a similar process of practical reconciliation must be worked out or European civilization at least will perish. If the warring peoples cannot forget—and we may concede they cannot—they can at least unite in the common conviction that, whatever other values the war may have established, it left us all poorer. And they must; no choice is given them. They must get to work or perish. Until that disposition is shown, the world will remain bound and helpless in its misery.

Needs Men of Good Will

If you ask me how this better condition can be brought about, I answer it can come only as a result of the efforts of men of good will. I believe enough men of good will exist in each of the warring countries to form the leaven which shall leaven the mass.

I believe they must make the effort a conscious duty. It is as much our national duty as it is the duty of other nations. But, gentlemen, it is even more. It is a personal duty—a duty which each of us should to the limit of his power perform, not some time, but now. I hope this does not strike you as mere sentimentality. I am not consciously looking at the hard and stubborn facts ahead of us in a sentimental way. To me it seems merely common sense. To me it seems the only way out. And to that end we Americans must do our part.

Be sure that I am keenly aware of the responsibility that rests upon me. Be sure that no one recognizes more clearly than I the difficulties and discouragements that must be met, and if, as I go, I can carry with me your good wishes and good will, and possibly in some small measure your confidence, the memory of this evening will strengthen me in the ways just ahead and remain an inspiration to me as long as I shall live.

BERLIN'S REACTION

On April 2 the New York Times printed the following summary of Berlin editorial expression on Ambassador Houghton's words:

GERMAN EDITORIAL EXPRESSION

As balm to the bitter Teuton disappointment over America's non-active participation at Genoa comes Ambassador Houghton's speech, which the German press features fully,

regardless of political complexion. *Vorwärts* leads with the big headline, "A Peace Ambassador." The leisurely German editors won't comment at length until tomorrow afternoon's papers.

But one interesting German reaction already is observable. Germany's reactionaries have seized on Mr. Houghton's speech with the intent to misuse it for their own selfish inner political purposes as a weapon against the Wirth Government. Reactionary and nationalistic organs are the only ones to comment even briefly thereon, but there is method in their comment.

The ultra-reactionary *Deutsche Zeitung*, under the headlines clear across the front page, "Earnest Admonition to Wirth," and the subhead, "America Expects Firmness," says:

"It is to be hoped that the man who is to resume normal diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States will follow his words with corresponding deeds. Out of his speech there clearly proceeds what attitude official America expects of the German Government."

The *Deutsche Zeitung* requotes Houghton's reported utterance, "Why should we assume of a great and proud nation that it should do what we under the same circumstances would not?" and then continues:

"Let this, too, not be forgotten of the American Ambassador, that he is the first in the official outland to recognize that injustice has been done us, since he says that Germans in America are 'embittered with a feeling of injustice.' That Houghton does not want to discuss the true causes of the war is understandable. And the American Government representative could hardly justify his, rather than the German Government's, destroying the lie about Germany's war guilt."

The agrarian junker organ, the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, headlines the speech, "America's Program for Germany," while the nationalistic *Lokal-Anzeiger*, under "Houghton's Peace Policy," says:

"The new American Ambassador's utterances differ very agreeably from many products of oratorical talent of representatives of our former foes spitting hate and poison. Let us hope that with these views Mr. Houghton will make good within the scope of the White House policy."

IRELAND—AND OTHER TROUBLES

Thoughtful men the world over have been looking in these latter days at the British Empire and wondering whether its resources of patience and governmental skill will be sufficient to solve the innumerable problems that confront it; for not only is the Empire, by force of necessity, charged with leadership in Europe's dazed and uncertain steps toward economic rehabilitation and political security, but it is tried to the point almost of despair by crisis after crisis within the borders of its own commonwealth. It has been said appropriately that every morning brings a new shock to England.

Ireland is the most prolific source. The newspapers present from day to day a picture of efforts of moderate leaders to encompass peace in the torn island, and always in the background of the picture hovers the specter of war, pillage, and arson. To those who, because of love of Ireland or love of humanity, rejoiced when the delegates of Dail Eireann and of the British Government evolved the Irish Free State Treaty, subsequent events have been indescribably distressing.

THE CONTEST IN SOUTH IRELAND

The fight between Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins, leading the Irish element favorable to the treaty, and Eamonn de Valera and his band of irreconcilables, who insist upon a republic, has become so intense, as the people

have been appealed to, that it has been impossible wholly to check the impulse to war. Old hates have been renewed and new ones formed. Blood has been shed cruelly in both the North and South of Ireland because of the inflamed passions, and once or twice pitched battles near the border of Ulster, between extremists of both sides, have been barely averted, while the friends of the South of Ireland have trembled lest in that unhappy community those lately brothers in combat with Great Britain will turn their arms on each other. A large part of the old Republican army is in revolt against the authority of the Dail Eireann, which is controlled by treaty leaders.

"Unless there is an immediate change of tone and tactics," said Mr. Collins on April 9, speaking of the general situation, "it looks as if civil war can only be averted by a miracle."

THE TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT

That speech was made 10 days after treaty leaders of the South, Ulster leaders of the North, and spokesmen for the Imperial Government had met in London and on the evening of March 30 announced the signing of a tripartite agreement to secure peace in Ireland. It was such an agreement as brought from Sir Hamar Greenwood, a little while ago loathed in Ireland, the exclamation, "Thank God for that!" The text of this agreement, framed with high hopes so soon to be endangered, follows:

THE TERMS

First. Peace is today declared.

Second. From today the two governments undertake to co-operate in every way in their power with a view to the restoration of peaceful conditions in the unsettled areas.

Third. The police in Belfast are to be organized in general in accordance with the following conditions:

1. Special police in mixed districts to be composed half of Catholics and half of Protestants. All specials not required for these forces to be withdrawn to their homes and surrender their arms.

2. An advisory committee composed of Catholics will assist in the selection of Catholic recruits for the special police.

Police to Be Numbered

3. All police on duty, except the usual secret service men, to be uniformed and officially numbered.

4. All arms and ammunition issued to the police to be deposited in barracks in charge of a military or other competent officer when policemen are not on duty, and an official record must be kept of all arms issued and ammunition used.

5. Any search for arms is to be carried out by a police force composed half of Catholics and half of Protestants, the military rendering any necessary assistance.

Fourth. A court is to be constituted for the trial, without jury, of persons charged with serious crimes, the court to consist of the Lord Chief Justice and one of the lords justices of appeal in Northern Ireland. Any person committed for trial for a serious crime is to be tried by that court (a) if he so requests, or (b) if the attorney-general for Northern Ireland so directs. Serious crimes are those punishable by death, penal servitude, or imprisonment exceeding six months. The Government of Northern Ireland will take steps to pass necessary legislation to give effect to this article.

Special Body for Complaints

Fifth. A committee is to be established in Belfast, with equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants, and with an independent chairman, preferably a Catholic or a Protestant alternately in successive weeks, to hear and investigate com-